9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS[1]

In every situation, affectionate, formal, calm or excited, a kinship term is always the preferred form of address. There is no tabu on the use of the name for address, and it often has to be employed to distinguish individuals in a group, but this is not the kind nor respectful approach. Calling someone by his name when there is no real necessity for it is only to be done in anger, to show disdain, or perhaps with someone who is always irritable and no one cares for; thus TY called a "brother" she had acquired through her second marriage by name, because everyone always had—he was just an unpleasant man. It is doubtless this attribute of the terminology which makes it necessary, or at least strongly preferable, to have some relationship through which one may address any other Comanche one meets; the use of the terms to some extent provides the cues for the behavior of both persons, and tends to create a situation favorable to the speaker, especially in the use of relationships considered respectful. During peyote meetings, for example, the participants are always required to address each other by appropriate kinship terms.

As might be expected, these usages carry over into the folklore: coyote calls the other animals (unless they are bigger than he is) "little brother," as is so often the case, and the other animals similarly address each other by relationship terms. It is also significant that words for "sibling" or for "friend" are used to describe two animals, plants, etc., that are similar to each other.

For convenience in presentation, the material on behavior between relatives is grouped roughly by generation and by type of relationship, with distinctions made within these groups. The use of the present tense in these descriptions does not, of course, imply that these patterns still retain their full strength. Unless otherwise noted, all discussion is based on the culture at its pre-reservation peak.

Siblings. The relation between siblings of the same sex, and to a certain

[1] A large amount of the material used in this section was collected by Miss Kaarina Alho and Miss Nathalie F. Sampson from women informants; I wish to express to them my extreme gratitude for their kindness and generosity in thus making available for my use the results of several weeks of intensive work.

Due to the limited time at our disposal, and the fact that our emphasis was primarily on linguistics, the material here is perhaps rather scanty and occasionally inaccurate. However, it will suffice to provide a general outline of behavior in the most important relationship situations; I doubt that any important aspects have been completely omitted. It must not be overlooked that material obtained from the memory of participants in a broken culture tends to be slanted toward ideal types of behavior. While every attempt was made through searching questions and emphasis on actual cases to reduce this tendency, our data undoubtedly suffer from this bias.

A more rounded picture of Comanche culture as a whole has been presented by Kardiner (1945, pp. 51–80) using Linton's material. This may provide needed background in which to place these detailed patterns of behavior.

191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator. Sermons in the Indian churches are for the most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few sentences at a time. The performance of this function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

191 794 191 [124]

English has had another rather different influence on Comanche. Many of the younger Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

[172 195]

[p. 242-A]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 Sanapia, Sanapia's handling of the medicines before she applies them to her
755 patient, and the need of the direct application of the doctor's mouth in the
756 treatment of ghost sickness, the most tenacious sickness Sanapia encounters.

When Sanapia turns her attention to the patient's twisted hands, a contortion which occurs in most cases of ghost sickness reported by Sanapia, her behavior and "bedside manner" undergo a radical change—from intensity and outwardly appearing agitation to gentleness and calm. She puts cedar and rock medicine on the coals to produce medicine smoke and then, manipulating the patient's hand, holds it over the rising smoke. During this phase of treatment she croons and sings to the patient and assures him that her powers will enable him to recover. She will also, at times, drape a black kerchief or a towel on the patient's face as she fans the medicine smoke over his face. After the smoking of the hand, she smooths it with her Medicine feather while her crooning tone is continued.

When her treatment of any afflicted extremity is completed, Sanapia once again places cedar and rock medicine on the coals and fans the medicine smoke over the patient. She then smokes the Medicine feather and draws the smoke over herself with a washing motion of her hands. At this point the first treatment is terminated.

The patient is instructed to rest after this first treatment. Sanapia rewraps her medicines before leaving the room in which she has been doctoring. She then immediately washes her hands and rinses her mouth with a commercial brand of mouth wash in order to destroy any "poison" which she feels may be in her mouth.

Between treatments the patient is continually dosed with a decoction of
[262] *bekwinatu*. There are no dietary restrictions placed on him during his two-day treatment. Sanapia instructs her patient to rest, pray, and think only pleasant thoughts between treatments. During the midmorning and midafternoon when Sanapia is not involved in doctoring, she busies herself with her household chores and observes no special type of behavior connected with her doctoring. She does insist on decorum and a general quiet among household members during the several days of treatment for the sake of her patient.

When the sun reaches its zenith at midday, the second treatment is begun. This treatment will be similar to the morning treatment. By the end of the second treatment Sanapia will be able to determine if the patient is responding favorably. If the prognosis is good at this point, the subsequent treatments will all be similiar to the first one. However, if the patient is showing no sign of improvement or is worsening, Sanapia will begin to add more elements to her basic pattern of treatment. She will also be more susceptible to inspired variations since she believes that when her powers are with her to their fullest potential, any thoughts she has are of the order of a supernatural directive.

Use of the Peyote Meeting

775 If she feels that a crisis is developing with respect to her patient's condi-
755 tion, she will take her first step to augment the intensity of treatment during the
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31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

third treatment at sunset on the first day. Sanapia will usually organize a specialized peyote meeting at this juncture. She carefully selects those to be invited, choosing only three or four individuals who she believes are especially good people and who have prayed with her in the past in similar situations. The local peyote leader is always included in this group since Sanapia concedes that it is his right to lead the meeting, though it is understood that it will be led for her purposes.

This meeting is held indoors. The fire is laid on a piece of sheet metal supported on several bricks. Most of the standard elements of a Comanche peyote meeting are present in this meeting—water drum, gourd rattles, sage wand, cedar staff, Chief Peyote, feather fans, eagle feathers, and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for ceremonial smoking. The tepee is obviously lacking, as is the crescent-shaped earthen altar, the leader's whistle, the water ceremonies, and the ceremonial breakfast.

The meeting proceeds in the usual manner. Sanapia doctors throughout the meeting at those times when she feels particularly inspired to do so. When she desires to doctor, the leader signals those present to cease the singing and passing of the drum and accompanying paraphernalia. Sanapia then waits for the fire to die down to coals before she begins to doctor. She bases her treatment during the meeting on the basic pattern which she followed in the first two treatments earlier that day. However, at this time she adds the use of peyote to her doctoring.

After the smoking of her Medicine feather and herself, the fanning and smoking of her patient and all those present, and the applying of *bekwinatsu* she gives the patient four peyote buttons which she first has masticated. After the patient has taken the required first four buttons, he is doctored with a decoction of peyote. This "tea" is drunk by the patient, and it is applied externally by Sanapia as well as being spewed over the patient's face, head, and hands.

At sunrise when the meeting ends and the peyote drum is disassembled, Sanapia sometimes requests the moist drumhead from the leader and utilizes it in doctoring her patient. She presses the wet hide over the top of the patient's head and forms the hide to the contours of the patient's face while she prays that the patient's face will be cured when she takes the hide off. There is the notion that the pliable qualities of the wet hide will be transferred to the patient's face, and as Sanapia forms the hide, so might she reform the patient's contorted countenance.

She takes some of the sweet sage used to support the Chief Peyote used during the meeting, and after chewing it and rolling it between her hands, she rubs it over the afflicted areas of the patient's body. Sanapia takes a mouthful of water from the peyote drum and blows it over her patient. Some of the charcoal from the drum is used by Sanapia to draw a series of concentric circles on the contorted area of the patient's face. This magical act is supposed to constrict the "foamy stuff" which is causing the contortions of the face by first drawing it within the outer circle, then within the next smaller circle, and so on until the sickness is so localized that it will be a simple task for Sanapia to suck it out.

The seven stone "bosses" which are employed to attach the drum head to the kettle drum body are also utilized by Sanapia as medicine. Sanapia takes

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money.

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City.

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature.

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds.

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the